1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

No rites were practised exclusively for chiefs or their families—so far as I could discover. The rites which might be performed for anyone, particularly for first-born sons, were more elaborate for chiefs than for others, simply because their wealth was greater than that of others and not because of their position as chief. Any wealthy man could celebrate any event in exactly the same way as the chief, if he had the wherewithal. This applies to the great festivals at the time of tattooing, to those connected with building feast places in honor of living individuals, to the marriage festivals, and to the elaborate memorial festivals, the purposes of which was to elevate the spirit of a deceased individual to the power and prestige of a god.

Rôle of the chief in tribal worship

While the chief played no active rôle in the tribal ritual, he had what may be called a very important passive rôle. The concept of the association of human procreating power with generation, plenty, power, and so on, in nature, was fundamental in the native philosophy. The chief, as the living head of the tribal stock, represented the embodiment of this power for his tribe. It is natural, therefore, to find that in a chant obtained at Pua Ma'u, which was used in fishing, in connection with circumcision, and for other purposes, a number of esoteric words as elements in the charm have direct reference to the genitals of the chief. Another evidence of the way in which the chief embodied the spiritual power of the tribal, ancestral stock for his people is to be noted in the use of the skulls of chiefs in connection with certain rites, such as fishing. The same thing is shown again by the violent mourning in which the whole tribe participated on the death of their chief.

Administration of tribal affairs

Authority of the chief

As a chief's position in his tribe was primarily dependent on his wealth and social prestige (wealth and position being causative rather than resultant), so the amount of his authority was dependent on such personal factors as his character or personality and, most of all, on the affection of his people. When an old informant was asked what people in ancient times would do if a chief were oppressive, he replied, "They went to another chief." If a chief were defeated in war, he might become a *moho-moho*, a chief without people; or his people might stand by him and go into exile with him. The independent nature of the people would have made impossible the wielding of any arbitrary authority on the part of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one-half of its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity. 712

INDUSTRY

The major industries of the Marquesas included the erection of platforms and houses, canoe building, fishing, planting and harvesting. These were the peace-time activities, requiring the participation of communal labor under the direction of organizers and skilled leaders. What may be characterized as the minor industries are those in the especial province of the women, particularly mat and cloth making and those home industries such as the making of weapons and utensils, that were practiced as private employment by men. The arts and minor crafts, practiced as a means of livelihood by professionals, consisted in tattooing, the making of ornaments, drum making, the making of string figures and lashings, and in the decoration of canoes and houses, in various ways such as with ornamental sennit or carving. 461 462 463

THE TERMS HANA AND TUHUNA

The word *hana* is used freely in the Marquesas to signify work, industries, and the like: for example, *hana ava-ika* indicates the whole industry of fishing, *te tau hana enata,* meaning all the native arts and crafts. *Tuhuna* signified one who was a proved expert in any phase of activity, mental or physical. A *tuhuna* was an expert, a master, a director in enterprise, or one of great learning. If a native's admiration is excited by anything that one does—and nothing excites their admiration more than skill or cleverness—he will say, *tuhuna oe;* you are a *tuhuna.* The terms for various kinds of *tuhuna* do not indicate that there was in each tribe a professional who devoted all his time to one of these activities. One person might be a *tuhuna* in a number of branches of learning or activity. And *tuhuna* did not necessarily mean a professional; although it usually did, since one who came to be recognized as a *tuhuna* would undoubtedly have been called upon to practice as a professional and would thus have gained in wealth and prestige. *Tuhuna nui,* meaning great *tuhuna,* was applied to one especially skilled in his profession, one who occupied the position of director among other skilled workers, as, for example, the chief fisherman, but particularly to one who had all-around skill and [556]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 574 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke, haka ha'a manumanu*, and *haka pahaka*. (See Dancing.) [786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 In *ko'ika hakahiti*, chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to outstrip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make 556 a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* 431 constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

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PR6 556 431

catch are described in the section on fishing; and other feasts of minor importance are discussed in conjunction with the incidents which they celebrated, such as birth, death, and the like.

PRIESTS

PR3

The tribal inspirational priest was called *tau'a*, *tau'a nui*, or sometimes *atua*, which means literally god. The *tau'a*, who filled the rôle of tribal inspirational priests, must be distinguished from those of less prominence, called by the same name, who were private practitioners. *Tau'a* was a term which referred to all persons who were subject to possession by spirits or gods.

After the tribal inspirational priest, the next in importance in tribal worship was the ceremonial priest, *tuhuna o'ono* (*tuhika o'oko*), who may be characterized also as the tribal bard and director of ritual, since it was he who led, and at times sang alone, the sacred chants in rites. He was also the teacher of chants and legends.

Moa, *u'u*, or *taputoho* were men who were the guardians and assistants of the inspirational priest and consecrated to the work of serving as assistants in ceremonial. *Tauoha*, *veveahu*, or *tauahi* were servants of the inspirational priest.

Tuhuna as a class, including the "old men" who were masters of different professions, constituted a body that furnished the choirs which intoned the sacred chants during the ceremonials in the sacred places and on the feast places. Each of the above classes of religious functionaries will be discussed separately. Each tribal temple of importance had one inspirational priest, several ceremonial priests, and a considerable number of assistants.

THE TRIBAL INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST—TAU'A

Tribal inspirational priests (*tau'a*) might be male or female, though they were commonly male. The office was usually, though not always, inherited. Such priests could be of any class of society, though they were commonly closely related to the chiefs: it would have been most usual in the ancient days to find that the inspirational priest was a near relative of the tribal chief.

The fitness of an individual for the position of *tau'a* was indicated by a miraculous sign of some kind. He might be taken possession of by a god with the violent manifestations that accompanied this phenomenon. His selection might be demonstrated by something remarkable happening to him, such as being in the water for a long time without being eaten by sharks, or the ability to maintain a fast of seven or eight days (19). Of one of the recent *tau'a* of a Fatu Hiva tribe it is related that he used to lie

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

539 from generation to generation, the names being changed to apply upon different occasions. They were chanted at the time of the death of a relative and at the memorial festivals. Immediately after a death, when relatives were coming to the house to pay their respects, each would chant his *uta*. These sacred *uta* were sung by choruses at the memorial festivals, the singers being seated and accompanying their chanting with hand clapping, but with no body motion. It was very unfortunate that I was unable to find anyone who knew the melody of an *uta*, although texts of this type of song were more easily obtained than any other. Great festivals spoken of as *uta nui* were apparently the same as the memorial feasts. At such feasts the *uta* were accompanied by three small drums (*umi or putu*), three great drums (*pahu me'ae*), and three *pahu pepe'e* (?).

539 556 The composition and singing of the simpler laudatory *uta* was described as follows by an informant at Atu Ona. *Uta* and *rari* were prepared and sung together on these occasions. According to this informant the *uta* was in honor of old people and the *rari* in honor of young girls. When it had been decided to have a combined *ko'ina rari* and *ko'ina uta*, the maternal uncles of the girl for whom the *rari* was to be composed sought out youths and had them to build a house (*oho-au*) in which the song would be rehearsed. This house was made near the dwelling of the girl and was a small shed open in front. The youths who collected the materials and erected the house were fed by the family for whom they worked. This was their only payment. Work could be done on the house only at night. The *oho-au rari* was not *tapu*. The *tuhuna* who was employed to compose and teach the *uta* and *rari* did his work of composing at home and used the *oho-au* merely for rehearsing his choruses, the *uta* being taught to a group of old men and women, and the *rari* to a group of youths and maids. Doubtless it was the same group of male *ka'ioi* who erected the *oho-au* that sang in the chorus. Both the *rari* and the *uta* were in honor of the girl. When the songs had been well learned in the *oho-au* a feast was celebrated on the tribal feast place, the feast being to "show the *oho-au* (sacred house) of the girl," that is, exhibit the house and songs that had been prepared in her honor. A long time was necessary for the preparation of food for the feast. All comers had to bring their contributions. First the genealogy or genealogies of the family or families who were honoring their daughters were chanted; next the *uta* were sung by the old people; and lastly, the *rari* were intoned by the groups of youths and maidens. There was no dancing. The festival ended with a feast. Such a feast was celebrated in honor of a girl at some time after her adolescence, but was not directly connected with this event in her life.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Tattooing in the Marquesas

By Willowdean Chatterson Handy

INTRODUCTION

Drawings and photographs of tattooing patterns on the bodies of natives were made by the author during a residence in the Marquesas Islands in 1921. As tattooing is now forbidden by the laws of the country and the art is consequently dying out, this collection of the last specimens of tattooing patterns which exist today in the Marquesas has seemed to demand a complementary collection of information regarding the practice of the art, to the end that the beautiful motives might at least be partly accounted for and might some day take their merited place in the history of art. The data have been drawn from natives who have been decorated, from one old *tuhuna*, or artist, who has practised tattooing, and from literary sources, thus piecing together a fairly accurate picture of the practice. Discussion of the design itself, of which the natives know nothing today beyond the nomenclature, is undertaken in a spirit of appreciation and with the hope that the suggestions offered regarding the evolution and significance of this form of decoration may uncover other possibilities and lead to a more conclusive interpretation of the art.

THE PRACTICE OF THE ART

It would appear that this form of body decoration was not confined to certain ranks or classes in the Marquesas, though what might be called a property qualification limited somewhat the complete covering and finer work to the wealthy who could afford to employ the best artists and stand the attendant expense of feeding them and their assistants as well as the large band of *ka'ioi* who erected the special house for the occasion. A father prepared long in advance for the payment for tattooing of his first-born, raising pigs, and planting *ute*, paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), for the making of tapa as gifts for both the *ka'ioi* and the *tuhuna*. Payment also took the form of ornaments, war clubs, and more recently, guns. Langsdorff says that they paid for their decorations according to the greater or less quantity of them, and to the trouble the figures required; that during the thirty or forty years when the body was gone over again and again with the tattooing bones until the skin was completely covered, the cost became considerable; and that such all-over decoration necessarily indicated a person of great wealth (10 p. 120)[1]. It follows

[1] Throughout this paper the numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography on page 26.

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

naturally that it also appeared only upon people of advanced years (6, p. 130; 13, p. 102-103), a circumstance which undoubtedly led to Captain Chanal's conclusion that the marks had no relation to anything but age (11, p. 111).

While the *tuhuna* was paid generously for work on an *opou*, the eldest son of a wealthy man, no payment was asked of the *ka'ioi*, a more or less unorganized group of younger sons and daughters, who took such part in the preparations as raiding for food and building the special house, and who slipped in to have designs punctured upon them gratis when the *opou* was resting or recuperating from the effects of the operation. It is perhaps these *ka'ioi* to whom Melville (12, p. 49) refers in speaking of the common fellows who were practiced on. Langsdorff was apparently unaware of this custom, for he says that those who could not afford tattooing went without:

> The poorer islanders who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon breadfruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as subjects for practice. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all. (10, p. 120.)

With the lower classes noticeably less tattooed than the higher, the conclusion was often drawn by early visitors that this form of decoration pointed out noble or distinguished persons (8, p. 155 and 13, p. 84). Berchon, writing in 1859, avows that all classes were tattooed at that time, but that formerly it was a sign of nobility and distinction. From what is to be gathered today from living informants, this is a misconception, in the main, based on the fact that wealth was in the hands of chiefs and distinguished men.

Melville (13, p. 102) at one time assigns tattooing to the warrior class, but present information states that the untattooed as well as the tattooed went to war. That warriors, as well as other groups, wore special designs as badges is stated by modern informants as true in a few instances, and is frequently suggested by the early voyagers to the Marquesas. Spirals over the eyes (Pl. v, 7) are today described as belonging to all warriors in ancient times, while spirals called *koboata* on cheeks and hips indicated chiefs, as do the tiny pinlike marks (Pl. xxxviii, *G. d*) to be seen today on the inside of the left ankle. After a battle these marks—according to the informants—were sought for by the priest of a victorious army on the ankles of the slain to determine whether a chief had been killed and a great battle fought. Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment.

When a line which had been building itself up over several generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was moving toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families.

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an abandoned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it.

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge

/14 cont./ These 853
individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan- [476]
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1[i.e., the child's aunts -- Analyst]

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in thewhole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which